

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-02

INFO OCT-01 AF-01 ISO-00 /004 R

66011

DRAFTED BY IO/SCT:LNCAVANAUGH

APPROVED BY IO/SA - MS. MCCLELLAN

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R 070215Z APR 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUQMNI/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 083444

NAIROBI FOR UNEP REP

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 1380 ACTION SECSTATE INFO GENEVA
VIENNA 5 APR

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 1380

VIENNA FOR UNIDO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AORG, ABUD, UN

SUBJECT: UN PROGRAM BUDGET FOR 1978-79

REF: A. STATE 71230; B. USUN 1229

1. SUMMARY: MISSION BELIEVES THAT EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE WITH
OTHER MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO ATTEMPT TO CONTROL INCREASE
IN THE UN PROGRAM BUDGET FOR 1978-79, BUT THAT WE MUST FIRST
FURTHER REFINE OUR APPROACH. ANY EFFORT ON THE PART OF MAJOR CON-
TRIBUTORS TO EXERCISE CONTROL IS LIKELY TO BE STRONGLY RESISTED
BY LDC'S UNLESS IT IS PUT IN PROPER CONTEXT. INCLUDING SOVIETS IN
DEMARCHE PRESENTS PARTICULAR PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF MAJOR DIFFERENCES
IN OUR ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED NATIONS. MISSION SUGGESTS
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NUMBER OF FACTORS TO BE INCORPORATED IN US APPROACH, AND PRO-
CEEDING TO DISCUSS SUBJECT WITH UK, FRANCE, AND JAPAN AND FRG BE-
FORE WE DECIDE ON BRINGING IN SOVIETS AND THEREFORE MAKING DE-
MARCHE TO SYG WALDHEIM. END SUMMARY

2. AS REPORTED REFTEL B, MISSION (A) AGREES WITH DEPT THAT STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO ATTEMPT TO CONTROL INCREASE IN UN PROGRAM BUDGET, BUT (B) CONSIDERS THAT HOW WE PROCEED NEEDS FURTHER REFINEMENT. ON LATTER POINT, WE BELIEVE THAT BEFORE WE ENTER INTO CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER DELS -- ESPECIALLY SOVIETS -- WE MUST BE SURE THE APPROACH WE ADVOCATE IS REALISTIC AND WE UNDERSTAND OUR OWN OBJECTIVES CLEARLY. A PRIMARY CONCERN WE HAVE IS THAT A JOINT OR PARALLEL DEMARCHE TO SYG BY ALL (EXCEPT PRC) OF THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS (US, UK, FRANCE, JAPAN, FRG, ITALY, CANADA AND USSR) WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IF IT APPEARED TO BE AN EFFORT OF AN ANTI-LDC BLOC.

3. DEPT AWARE OF DILEMMA WE FACE WHEREBY WE HAVE OPTED FOR NEW AND/OR INCREASED PROGRAMS, LARGELY IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AREA AS RESULT OF SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION AND 30TH UNGA WITH RESULTANT BUDGETARY IMPACT, WHILE AT SAME TIME WE WANT TO HOLD DOWN SIZE OF UN PROGRAM BUDGET. WE ARE NOT ALONE IN THIS AMBIVALENT POSTURE SINCE OTHER DELS, WHICH ALSO HAVE PUSHED PROGRAMS WITH ONLY MINIMAL CONCERN FOR THEIR IMPACT ON THE PROGRAM BUDGET, ARE IN SIMILAR POSITION. SINCE 60 PERCENT OR MORE OF UN PROGRAM BUDGET IS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS, ANY SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO HOLD DOWN COSTS WILL, OF NECESSITY, REQUIRE SOME CUTTING INTO THIS AREA; IF WE DECIDE TO DO SO, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MEET HEAD ON EXPECTED LOUD CRITICISM OF LDC'S. TO MINIMIZE THE RISK OF PUTTING IN JEOPARDY THE EARLIER PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS WITH THE LDC'S, WE CONSIDER IT PRUDENT TO DISCUSS OUR APPROACH FIRST WITH OUR FRIENDS (UK, FRG, JAPAN, AND FRANCE) AND BEFORE MOVING ANY FUTURE TAKE THEIR VIEWS FULLY INTO ACCOUNT. ONLY AFTER WE HAVE AN AGREED APPROACH SHOULD WE CONSIDER GOING THEN TO SOVIET AND SYG WALDHEIM.

4. ASSUMING WE CAN REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE UK/FRG/France/JAPAN, IT IS NECESSARY TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY HOW WE WILL APPROACH SOVIETS. LATTER ALONG WITH MOST OTHER MEMBERS OF EE BLOC), WHICH HAS BEEN PRESSING US FOR SOME TIME (MOST RECENTLY DURING 30TH UNGA) TO CONFIDENTIAL

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BECOME PARTY TO A JOINT DEMARCHE BY MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO SYG, LIKELY TO OPT FOR UNREASONABLE DEMANDS BEING PLACED ON SYG SINCE, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THEY WANT TO KEEP UN ON FINANCIAL DIET OF QTE BLACK BREAD AND WATER UNQTE. SOVIET ATTITUDE HERE MERELY A REFLECTION OF THEIR GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UN WHEREBY ORGANIZATION SHOULD EXIST ALMOST SOLELY TO DEAL WITH POLITICAL AND SECURITY MATTERS WHILE THOSE ACTIVITIES IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AREA ARE TOLERATED -- THOUGH AT THE LEAST POSSIBLE COST TO THEM-- ONLY FOR POLITICAL REASONS. WE SHOULD EXPECT SOVIETS, WHO SPEAK FROM BOTH SIDES OF THEIR MOUTH IN UN, TO ATTEMPT TO TAKE HATCHET APPROACH TO UN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES, WHILE EXPLOITING FOR THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE INVOLVEMENT OF US, FRG, FRANCE, JAPAN AND UK, AT SAME TIME, WE CAN EXPECT THEM TO PRESS HARD TO MAINTAIN AT

HIGH LEVEL THEIR FAVORITE PROGRAMS (E.G., DISARMAMENT, DE-COLONIZATION, POLITICAL AND SECURITY DEPARTMENT, ETC.). FACT THAT RESTRICTING GROWTH IN PROGRAM BUDGET FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES LIKELY TO BE OFFENSIVE TO LDC'S PROBABLY WOULD NOT DETER SOVIETS WHO WOULD EXPECT TO OFF-SET THIS BY OPTING FOR GREATER EXPENDITURES IN PROGRAMS SUCH AS DECOLONIZATION. IN SUMMARY, WE HAVE MAJOR DIFFERENCES WITH SOVIETS IN OUR OBJECTIVES, APPROACH, ETC. IN UN AND WE HAVE MORE TO LOSE THAN TO GAIN IN JOINING WITH THEM IN EFFORT TO CONTROL GROWTH OF UN PROGRAM BUDGET UNLESS WE ARE ABLE TO MOVE THEM CLOSER TO US. WHILE WE SKEPTICAL THAT SUCH MOVEMENT IS POSSIBLE, WE DO NOT RULE OUT MAKING EFFORT; ON CONTRARY, WE SUGGEST THAT WHEN TIME COMES TO APPROACH SOVIETS WE MUST SPELL OUT CLEARLY TO THEM OUR CONDITIONS FOR COOPERATION IN THIS ENDEAVOR IN ORDER TO REDUCE THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THEY WILL GET US UNTO A DIFFICULT POSITION WITH THE LDC'S AND/OR JUMP SHIP LATER ON WHENEVER THEY SEE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE POLITICAL CAPITAL.

5. WE MUST RECOGNIZE, FIRST OFF, THAT EFFORT TO CONTROL SIZE OF UN BUDGET AND CONTENT OF PROGRAMS ENVISAGED IN REFTTEL A IS DIRECTED TOWARD BRINGING MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR PRESSURE TO BEAR ON SYG. TO LARGE EXTENT, WALDHEIM'S APPROACH TO PROGRAM BUDGET IS TO FOLD IN WHAT HAS BEEN AGREED TO PREVIOUSLY BY GREAT NUMBER OF EXPERT AND GOVERNMENTAL BODIES THEMSELVES. IN POINT OF FACT, LATITUDE OF SYG TO DO OTHERWISE IS VERY LIMITED SINCE PRIOR ACTIONS BY THESE BODIES ARE THE APPARENT EXPRESSED WILL OF PARTICIPATING
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EXPERTS AND MEMBER STATES, AND TO GO AGAINST THAT GRAIN AT PROGRAM BUDGET PREPARATION TIME CAN ONLY RESULT IN ANTAGONISM BETWEEN WALDHEIM AND GOVERNMENTS (OR AT MINIMUM VOCAL AND INFLUENTIAL SEGMENTS WITHIN GOVERNMENTS). IN AREA WHERE WALDHEIM DOES HAVE DISCRETION, EXPERIENCE TO DATE INDICATES HIS UNWILLINGNESS TO ROCK ANY POLITICAL BOATS. GIVEN FACT THAT WALDHEIM IS SEEKING REELECTION, WE CANNOT REALISTICALLY EXPECT HIM TO CHANGE, ESPECIALLY TO TAKE ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRAM BUDGET DECISIONS THAT MIGHT BE OFFENSIVE TO THE LDC'S. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, COUNTER PRESSURE FROM MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS (ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH HAVE A MAJOR VOICE IN HIS OWN FUTURE) COULD HAVE USEFUL COUNTERBALANCING EFFECT AND, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON, PROPERLY PREPARED AND ORCHESTRATED DEMARCHE COULD BE HELPFUL TO US IN OBTAINING OUR LONG-TERM PROGRAM BUDGET OBJECTIVES IN THE UN.

6. MISSION BELIEVES THAT INGREDIENTS OF US APPROACH SHOULD LAY EMPHASIS ON FOLLOWING:

(A) ASSESSMENTS LEVIED ON MEMBER STATES, WHICH ARE INCREASINGLY BECOMING GREATER BURDEN FOR ALL, MUST BE ABSOLUTE MINIMUM

REQUIRED FOR UN TO CARRY OUT ITS NECESSARY WORK;

(B) RESOURCES PROVIDED BY MEMBER STATES TO UN MUST BE UTILIZED ACROSS-THE-BOARD AND AT ALL TIMES IN MOST EFFECTIVE, EFFICIENT, AND ECONOMICAL MANNER SO THAT MEMBERSHIP AS A WHOLE REALIZES MIXIMUM BENEFIT FOR EACH DOLLAR EXPENDED BY UN;

(C) NECESSARY STEPS MUST BE TAKEN BY SYG TO ENSURE THAT ALL ONGOING PROGRAMS ARE CONTINUOUSLY EVALUATED SO THAT THOSE OF A MARGINAL NATURE ARE IDENTIFIED AND DELETED, AND THAT NEW PROGRAMS ARE CAREFULLY SCRUTINIZED AND FULLY JUSTIFIED BEFORE THEY ARE INCLUDED IN THE SYG'S PROGRAM BUDGET PROPOSALS; AND

(D) FINANCIAL AUSTERITY, WHICH MANY NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE HAD TO INSTITUTE BECAUSE OF WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC SITUATION, ALSO SHOULD BE ADOPTED BY THE SYG BOTH IN PREPARING AND ADMINISTERING THE UN'S PROGRAM BUDGET.

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7. RE SPECIFIC POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL A, WE CONSIDER PARA 3A TO BE TOO RESTRICTIVE TO WIN SUPPORT OF OTHER MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS. THEY ARE LIKELY TO INSIST THAT EXCLUDING ANY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION FOR 1976-77 WOULD BE TOTALLY UNREALISTIC, ESPECIALLY GIVEN FACT THAT NEW AND/OR EXPANDING PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN, OR WILL BE, APPROVED BY VARIOUS UN PROGRAM BODIES.

8. RE PARA 3B OTHER MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS ARE LIKELY TO POINT OUT THAT BUDGETARY INCREASES TO MEET FOR THE MOST PART THE EFFECTS OF INFLATION AND CURRENCY ADJUSTMENTS CANNOT BE EXCLUDED FROM THE PROGRAM BUDGET FOR 1978-79, AND CONSEQUENTLY TOO RESTRICTIVE A PROGRAM BUDGET LEVEL FOR THE NEXT BIENNIUM WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM SINCE IT WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY ALL TO BE UNREALISTIC. IF WE SHOW UNDERSTANDING ON THIS, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO GET THEM TO AGREE TO PRESS SYG TO MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT TO OFFSET TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE INCREASED COSTS THROUGH DELETION OF MARGINAL AND/OR NON-ESSENTIAL PROGRAMS FROM 1976-77 BASE AS CALLED FOR IN UNGA RESOLUTION 3534 (XXX). USG, ESPECIALLY DEPARTMENT, SHOULD BE PREPARED, TO IDENTIFY FOR THEM AND WALDHEIM SPECIFIC PROGRAMS WHICH SHOULD BE TERMINATED, INCLUDING THOSE FOR WHICH WE HAVE BEEN THE INSTIGATORS, AND STATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT FOR THEIR TERMINATION IN THE APPROPRIATE UN BODIES. OUR DOING SO, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE SYG WILL PRESS OTHERS TO DO LIKEWISE.

9. PARA 5A RIGHTLY IDENTIFIES ONE IMPORTANT STEP WHICH CAN BE TAKEN AND WHICH IS CLEARLY PROVIDED IN EXISTING RULES OF PROCEDURES. THIS WOULD MEAN WE WOULD HAVE TO

EVALUATE MORE CAREFULLY EACH PROGRAM PROPOSAL, INCLUDING THOSE WE SUPPORT, BY GIVING CLOSE ATTENTION TO FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONSIDERATIONS. IT WOULD MEAN, FURTHERMORE, THAT FINANCIAL AUSTERITY WOULD BE ACCORDED GREATER WEIGHT SO THAT IN SOME INSTANCES WE WOULD BE PRACTICING PROGRAM SELF-DENIAL AND PRESSING OTHERS TO ADOPT THE SAME POSITION.

10. IN ADDITION, WITH RARE EXCEPTION USG SHOULD CONTINUE TO STATE, AND THEN FOLLOW THROUGH ON, ITS INTENTION TO ACCEPT AS A MINIMUM RECOMMENDATIONS OF ACABQ WHICH REDUCE PROGRAM CONFIDENTIAL

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BUDGET REQUESTS OF SYG AND/OR HAVE THE EFFECT OF IMPROVING UN OPERATIONS SO THAT THEY BECOME MORE EFFICIENT, EFFECTIVE, AND ECONOMICAL.

11. UNLESS DEPT PERCEIVES OBJECTION, WE PROPOSED TO DISCUSS SUBJECT WITH UK, FRANCE, JAPAN AND FRG (PLUS POSSIBLY ITALY AND CANADA) ALONG FOREGOING LINES AND ASSESS OUTCOME PRIOR TO ANY APPROACH TO SOVIETS AND FINALLY TO WALDHEIM. WE HAVE EXCLUDED PRC, WHICH SIXTH TARGETS UN CONTRIBUTOR, FROM ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS BECAUSE OF THEIR APPARENT LACK OF INTERESTS AS YET IN AND KNOWLEDGE OF PROGRAM BUDGET MATTERS AND THEIR CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH LDC'S. IF DEPT BELIEVES THAT AT SOME POINT, IF ONLY FOR THE RECORD, WE SHOULD APPROACH PRC DEL, MISSION HAS NO OBJECTION. SCRANTON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 15 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 APR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE083444
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/SCT:LNCAVANAUGH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760130-0918
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197604115/baaaeolh.tel
Line Count: 251
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <30 MAR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: UN PROGRAM BUDGET FOR 1978-79
TAGS: AORG, ABUD, UN
To: n/a INFO RUQMNI NAIROBI
IAEA VIENNA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006